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Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01
TRSE-00 IO-13 ACDA-07 SAJ-01 EB-07 /084 W
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P 300815Z DEC 76
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4492
INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI PRIORITY
AMCONSUL HONG KONG PRIORITY
USLO PEKING PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 19003

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CVIS, CH, TW, US (CHEN YI-SUNG)
SUBJECT: ASAHI'S CHEN YI-SUNG INTERVIEW

REF: A. TOKYO 16580 B. TAIPEI 8527 C. HONG KONG 14969

SUMMARY: DURING STOPOVER ENROUTE TO US ON NIGHT DECEMBER 26, CHINESE NPC STANDING COMMITTEEMAN FROM TAIWAN, CHEN YI-SUNG, GAVE LONG EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW TO ASAHI. INTER ALIA, CHEN SUGGESTED THAT ALTHOUGH PRC WOULD NEVER PLEDGE NOT TO RESOLVE TAIWAN PROBLEM BY FORCE, IT WOULD RESPECT GENERALIZED US DECLARATION OF "SERIOUS CONCERN ABOUT PEACE IN WESTERN PACIFIC," AND ON THIS BASIS US-CHINA NORMALIZATION COULD OCCUR PROVIDED US ACCEPTED PRC THREE POINTS. CHEN EXPLAINED DISTURBANCES IN CHINESE PROVINCES AS DEATH STRUGGLES OF "TOOLS OF GANG OF FOUR" AND SPECULATED THAT A FEW MORE HEADS MIGHT ROLL IN PEKING. ON AT LEAST ONE PREVIOUS OCCASION EMBASSY HAS KNOWN CHEN TO BE SOURCE OF RATHER FAR-FETCHED DISINFORMATION, SUGGESTING THAT HIS REMARKS BE TREATED WITH CAUTION.
END SUMMARY.

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1. ASAHI SHIMBUN DECEMBER 28 HEADLINED ACCOUNT OF EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW IN TOKYO WITH NPC STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBER FROM TAIWAN, CHEN YI-SUNG. ACCORDING TO ASAHI, CHEN MET WITH ITS REPORTERS IN HOTEL ROOM FOR EIGHT HOURS DURING DECEMBER 26-27 OVERNIGHT STOP IN TOKYO ENROUTE FROM PEKING TO US

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"TO VISIT RELATIVES." CHEN'S REMARKS WERE WIDE-RANGING,
AND LARDED WITH "PERSONAL VIEWS." FOLLOWING
PARAGRAPHS CONDENSE ASAHI'S ACCOUNT OF CHEN'S STATEMENTS.

2. SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS. THEY ARE PROGRESSING.
IT CAN BE SAID THAT "PIPELINE" TO US IS THICKER THAN TO
JAPAN UNDER NEW FUKUDA ADMINISTRATION. CARTER
ADMINISTRATION WILL PROBABLY SHOW FORWARD-LOOKING
POSTURE. OUR PRINCIPLES FOR NORMALIZATION ARE FIXED.
THEY ARE: (A) ABROGATION OF US-TAIWAN DEFENSE TREATY;
(B) WITHDRAWAL OF US FORCES; AND (C) SEVERANCE OF
DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. ALTHOUGH US MAY WISH CHINA TO
PROMISE NOT TO LIBERATE TAIWAN BY FORCE, WE CANNOT MAKE A
PROMISE TO ANOTHER COUNTRY ABOUT DOMESTIC POLITICAL
MATTER. PERHAPS SOME PEOPLE THINK US APPREHENSIONS ARE
SENSIBLE, BUT THEY SMACK OF "WORLD-POLICEMAN" ATTITUDE.
IF THE US WANTS TRULY EQUAL RELATIONS WITH OTHER
COUNTRIES, IT SHOULD NOT INTERFERE IN THEIR DOMESTIC
POLITICS. MY PERSONAL VIEW IS THAT US IN REGARD TO THIS
POINT SHOULD TAKE POSITION OF UNILATERALLY DECLARING
THAT IT IS SERIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT PEACE IN WESTERN
PACIFIC. THERE IS NO NEED TO DEMAND MORE THAN THAT OF
CHINESE SIDE. TO REPEAT, WE DO NOT WANT TO SHED BLOOD
AMONG COMPATRIOTS, AND WE HOPE THAT WORST CASE WILL
BE AVOIDED.

3. CHINESE INTERNAL SITUATION. STRUGGLES ARE OCCURRING IN
FUKIEN, SZECHWAN AND HONAN PROVINCES, AND THERE WAS PROBLEM
IN HUPEI TOO, AS MASSES RISE UP AGAINST TOOLS OF GANG OF FOUR.
BUT GANG OF FOUR HAS DEFINITELY BEEN DEFEATED. IT IS PROBABLY
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TRUE THAT (RECORDS OF) SOME LEADERS ARE BEING RE-CHECKED.
HOWEVER, MOST OF TOP LEADERSHIP, E.G., YEH CHIEN-YING, LI
HSIEN-NIEN, TAN CHEN-LIN, AND HSU HSIANG-CHIEN, FIRMLY SUPPORT
CHAIRMAN HUA. UNLIKE PERIOD WHEN GANG OF FOUR WAS RIDING HIGH,
FUTURE OF CHINA IS NOW BRIGHT; BECAUSE I AM CONFIDENT OF THAT,
I FEEL AT EASE TAKING PRIVATE TRIP. TENG HSIAO-PING'S RECOVERY
OF HONOR IS CONSIDERED TO BE MATTER OF TIME.

4. RECOVERY OF TAIWAN. AFTER I RETURNED TO FATHERLAND IN
APRIL, 1973, I TALKED AT LENGTH WITH PREMIER CHOU. HE STATED
THEN THAT (A) TAIWAN MUST BECOME SOCIETY WHERE GREAT MAJORITY OF
WORKING PEOPLE ARE LEADING ACTORS; (B) FOR THIS, WE MUST HELP
THE TAIWANESE MASSES GAIN AWARENESS; (C) AFTER TAIWAN IS INTE-
GRATED WITH MAINLAND, SOCIALIST RECONSTRUCTION WILL BE PROMOTED
OVER LENGTHY TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, ACCORDING TO PROPOSALS OF
TAIWANESE PEOPLE; AND (D) TAIWANESE LIVING STANDARDS WILL NOT BE
LOWERED.

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5. MY PERSONAL VIEW IT THAT RECOVERY OF TAIWAN CAN BE EFFECTED BY, FIRST, GIVING NOTICE THAT AT AFTER CENTAIN TIME ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OF TAIWAN WILL BE RE-ESTABLISHED. ON SET DATE, DELEGATION WILL BE DISPATCHED FROM MAINLAND. IN CASE CHIANG CHING-KUO AND HIS CLIQUE DO NOT HAND OVER POWER, ANOTHER DELEGATION, ACCOMPANIED BY PLA UNITS, WILL BE DISPATCHED AFTER INTERVAL. IF AGAIN THEY REFUSE, OUR SIDE WILL NOT HESITATE TO MAKE FORCIBLE LANDING. I SHOULD POINT OUT THAT THIS IS NOT VIEW OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, WHICH SEEMS TO BE CONSIDERING MORE COMPLICATED PROCESS. MOST IMPORTANT THING IS THAT TAIWAN'S RETURN WAS CLARIFIED BY PREMIER CHOU'S POLICY. WE WANT TO AVOID INTERNECINE FEUD SOMEHOW OR OTHER.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 19003

6. SINO-JAPANESE ECONOMIC RELATIONS. GANG OF FOUR'S POLICY OF EXTREME SECLUSIONISM -- WHICH LED TO SUCH THINGS AS CAPPING OIL WELLS INSTEAD OF PRODUCING SURPLUS -- IS STEADILY BEING CORRECTED BY HUA KUO-FENG REGIME. SECOND "LEARNING FROM TACHIAI" CONFERENCE HAS DETERMINED THAT PRIORITY SHALL BE GIVEN TO MECHANIZATION OF AGRICULTURE. FOR THIS PURPOSE, LARGE QUANTITIES OF GOOD-QUALITY STEEL PLATES WILL BE NEEDED. WE MUST EXPORT OIL IN ORDER TO IMPORT THEM. FROM THIS VIEWPOINT, SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS ARE EQUAL, RECIPROCAL AND COMPLEMENTARY, AND I THINK PROSPECTS ARE BRIGHT.

7. JAPAN-CHINA PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY. CHINA HAS NO RIGHT TO TELL JAPAN IT MUST NOT BE FRIENDLY WITH OTHER COUNTRIES; THE SOVIET UNION IS NO EXCEPTION.

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HOWEVER, WE RESOLUTELY OPPOSE EXPANSIONISM AND HEGEMONISM.
CONCLUSION OF PFT CAN ESTABLISH BASIS FOR SINO-JAPANESE
FRIENDSHIP FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS. PERSONALLY, I WONDER
IF JAPAN CANNOT MAINTAIN ITS BASIC POSITION BY AGREEING
TO INCORPORATION OF ARTICLE 7 OF (CHOU-TANAKA) JOINT
COMMUNIQUE AS IT STANDS -- THE ONE WHICH BEGINS
"NORMALIZATION OF SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS IS NOT DIRECTED
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TOWARD ANY THIRD NATION...."

8. SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS. BEFORE I LEFT CHINA, I HAD
LONG TALK WITH PLA ELDER LEADER HSU HSIANG-CHIEN. I
ASKED HIM ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF SOVIET SELF-RESTRAINT
IN FUTURE. HE LAUGHED, AND SAID, "YOU SOUND LIKE
SCHLESINGER." HSU SAID FIRMLY TO ME THAT SOVIET UNION
DOES NOT KNOW WHERE TO STOP. FOR IMPROVING RELATIONS
WITH THE SOVIET UNION, I THINK THERE IS NO WAY BUT FOR
US TO TAKE CONCRETE ACTIONS AND TO URGE THE SOVIETS TO
CORRECT THEIR ATTITUDE. WE ARE NOT THINKING OF
INTENSIFYING CONFRONTATION FOR FUN OF IT.

9. COMMENT. ADDRESSEES WILL RECALL THAT CHEN WAS IN
RECENT PAST SOURCE -- ALSO VIA ASAHI -- OF RATHER FAR-
FETCHED BIT OF DISINFORMATION (REFTEL). WHILE WE ARE
NOT IN BEST POSITION TO ASSESS HIS OPINIONS, PERSONAL
AND OTHERWISE, SKEPTICISM MAY BE IN ORDER. INCIDENTALLY,
ASAHI'S CAPSULE BIOGRAPHY OF CHEN DIFFERS SLIGHTLY FROM
THAT IN REFTEL; THEY HAVE HIM STUDYING AS YOUTH FIRST
IN OKAYAMA SECOND MIDDLE SCHOOL AND AFTERWARDS AT TOKYO
UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW.
HODGSON

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